

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6052

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 4047

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 USNATO 3060

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJ: NAOT DECLARATION: MAY 31 SPC TEXT

PARIS PLEASE PASS ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN

TRANSMITTED BELOW IS TEXT OF ATLANTIC DECLARATION AS IT EMERGED
FROM MAY 31 SPC MEETING REPORTED SEPTEL. DRAFT DECLARATION
WILL BE ADDRESSED IN NAC, JUNE 4, ON THE BASIS OF THIS TEXT.

BEGIN TEXT:

DRAFT TEXT ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS

1. THE MEMBERS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE DECLARE
THAT THE TREATY SIGNED 25 YEARS AGO TO PROTECT THEIR FREEDOM
AND INDEPENDENCE HAS CONFIRMED THEIR COMMON DESTINY. UNDER THE
SHIELD OF THE TREATY, THE ALLIES HAVE MAINTAINED THEIR SECURITY,
ENABLING WESTERN EUROPE TO REBUILD FROM ITS RUINS AND LAY THE
FOUNDATIONS OF ITS UNITY, (AND HAVE PRESERVED THE VALUES WHICH
ARE THE HERITAGE OF THEIR CIVILISATION).

(INSERTION OF PARAGRAPH 12 AT THIS POINT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED)

2. THEY REAFFIRM THEIR CONVICTION THAT THE NORTH ATLANTIC
TREATY PROVIDES THE INDESPENSABLE BASIF FOR THEIR SECURITY, THUS
MAKING POSSIBLE THE PURSUIT OF DETENTE(1). THEY WELCOME THE
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PROGRESS THAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED ON THE ROAD TOWARDS DETENTE AND
HARMONY AMONG NATIONS, AND THE FACT THAT A CONFERENCE OF 35
COUNTRIES OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA IS NOW SEEKING TO LAY DOWN
GUIDELINES DESIGNED TO INCREASE SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE.

THEY BELIEVE THAT UNTIL CIRCUMSTANCES PERMIT THE INTRODUCTION OF GENERAL, COMPLETE AND CONTROLLED DISARMAMENT, WHICH ALONE COULD PROVIDE GENUINE SECURITY FOR ALL, THE TIES UNITING THEM MUST BE MAINTAINED. THE ALLIES SHARE A COMMON DESIRE TO REDUCE THE BURDEN OF AIRMS EXPENDITURE ON THEIR PEOPLES. BUT STATES THAT WISH TO PRESERVE PEACE HAVE NEVER ACHIEVED THIS AIM BY NEGLECTING THEIR OWN SECURITY.

(1) OTHER FORMULAE SUGGESTED ARE "... (A) CONVICTION THAT IT IS AS MUCH AN INSTRUMENT FOR PURSUING DETENTE AS FOR ENSURING COLLECTIVE DEFENCE." "(B)...BY ENSURING THE COLLECTIVE DEFENCE OF ITS MEMBERS THE ALLIANCE MAKES POSSIBLE THE PURSUIT OF THE POLICY OF DETENTE."

3. THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE REAFFIRM THAT THEIR COMMON DEFENCE IS ONE AND INDIVISIBLE. AN ATTACK ON ONE OR MORE OF THEM OCCURING IN THE AREA OF APPLICATION OF THE TREATY SHALL BE CONSIDERED AN ATTACK AGAINST THEM ALL. THE COMMON AIM IS TO PREVENT AN ATTEMPT BY A FOREIGN POWER TO THREATEN THE INDEPENDENCE OR INTEGRITY OF A MEMBER OF THE ALLIANCE, AND SO AFFECT THE INTERESTS AND SECURITY OF ALL. THE STAKE IN SUCH AN ENTERPRISE WOULD, IN THE LAST RESORT, BE NOTHING ELSE THEN THE DOMINATION OF THE WORLD.

4. AT THE SAME TIME THEY REALISE THAT THE CIRCUMSTANCES AFFECTING THEIR COMMON DEFENCE HAVE BEEN PROFOUNDLY CHANGED IN THE LAST TEN YEARS; THE STRATEGIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION HAS REACHED A POINT OF NEAR EQUILIBRIUM. (REINSERTED FOR FURTHER CONSIDERATION-- "THE NATURE AND DEGREE OF VULNERABILITY OF THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE TO AN ATTACK") CONSEQUENTLY, ALTHOUGH ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE ALLIANCE REMAIN VULNERABLE TO ATTACK, THE NATURE AND GRAVITY OF THE DANGER TO WHICH THEY ARE EXPOSED HAVE CHANGED. ACCORDINGLY, THE ALLIANCE'S PROBLEMS IN THEIR DEFENCE OF EUROPE HAVE ASSUMED A DIFFERENT AND MORE DISTINCT CHARACTER.

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5. BUT THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS IN THE SITUATION WHICH GAVE RISE TO THE TREATY HAVE CERTAINLY NOT CHANGED. WHILE THE COMMITMENT OF ALL THE ALLIES TO THE COMMON DEFENCE REDUCES THE RISK OF EXTERNAL AGGRESSION, THE CONTRIBUTION TO THE SECURITY OF THE ENTIRE ALLIANCE PROVIDED BY THE NUCLEAR FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES BASED IN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE AND THE PRESENCE OF NORTH AMERICAN FORCES IN EUROPE REMAINS INDISPENSABLE (1)

(1) ANOTHER FORMULA SUGGESTED IS "...AGGRESSION, THERE IS NO PRESENT ALTERNATIVE TO THE SECURITY PROVIDED FOR THE ENTIRE ALLIANCE BY THE UNITED STATES NUCLEAR FORCES BASED IN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE, AND BY THE PRESENCE OF NORTH AMERICAN FORCES

IN EUROPE."

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6. NEVERTHELESS, THE ALLIANCE MUST PAY CAREFUL ATTENTION TO THE DANGERS TO WHICH IT IS EXPOSED IN THE EUROPEAN REGION, MUST ADOPT ALL MEASURES NECESSARY TO AVERT THEM. THE EUROPEAN MEMBERS, WHO PROVIDE THREE-QUARTERS OF THE CONVENTIONAL STRENGTH OF THE ALLIANCE IN EUROPE, AND TWO OF WHOM POSSESS NUCLEAR FORCES (CAPABLE OF PLAYING A DETERRENT ROLE OF THEIR OWN) (OF THEIR OWN, CAPABLE OF PLAYING A DETERRENT ROLE) UNDERTAKE TO MAKE THE NECESSARY CONTRIBUTION TO MAINTAIN THE COMMON DEFENCE AT A LEVEL CAPABLE OF DETERRING AND IF NECESSARY REPELLING ALL ACTIONS DIRECTED AGAINST THE INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE.

7. THE UNITED STATES, FOR ITS PART, REAFFIRMS ITS DETERMINATION NOT TO ACCEPT ANY SITUATION WHICH WOULD EXPOSE ITS ALLIES TO EXTERNAL POLITICAL OR MILITARY PRESSURE LIKELY TO DEPRIVE THEM OF THEIR FREEDOM, AND STATES ITS RESOLVE, TOGETHER WITH ITS ALLIES, MAINTAIN FORCES IN EUROPE AT THE LEVEL REQUIRED TO SUSTAIN THE CREDIBILITY OF THE STRATEGY OF DETERRENCE AND TO MAINTAIN THE CAPACITY TO DEFEND THE NORTH ATLANTIC AREA SHOULD DETERRENCE FAIL.

8. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE MEMBER STATES OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AFFIRM THAT AS THE REAL PURPOSE OF NAY DEFENCE POLICY IS TO CONVINCE A POTENTIAL ADVERSARY THAT THE OBJECTIVES HE SEEKS CANNOT BE OBTAINED BY STARTING A CONFLICT, ALL (FORCES NECESSARY WOULD) OR (ALL THEIR FORCES WOULD, IF
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NECESSARY,) BE USED IN ANY CONFLICT WHICH DID START.
THEREFORE, WHILE REAFFIRMING THAT A MAJOR AIM OF THEIR

POLICIES IS TO SEEK AGREEMENTS THAT WILL REDUCE THE RISK OF WAR, NO SUCH AGREEMENTS SHOULD LIMIT THEIR FREEDOM TO DEFEND THEMSELVES WITH ALL WEAPONS AT THEIR DISPOSAL, SINCE THEIR DETERMINATION TO DO SO CONTINUES TO BE THE BEST ASSURANCE THAT WAR IN ALL ITS FORM WILL BE PREVENTED.

9. ALL MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE RECOGNISE THAT THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF CANADIAN AND SUBSTANTIAL US FORCES IN EUROPE PLAYS AN IRREPLACABLE ROLE IN THE DEFENCE OF NORTH AMERICA AS WELL AS EUROPE. SIMILARLY THE SUBSTANTIAL FORCES OF THE EUROPEAN ALLIES SERVE TO DEFEND EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA AS WELL. (IT IS ALSO RECOGNIZED THAT THE PROGRESS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TOWARDS EUROPEAN UNION SHOULD HAVE, IN DUE COURSE, BENEFICIAL EFFECTS ON THE CONTRIBUTION, TO THE COMMON DEFENCE OF THE ALLIANCE, OF THOSE OF ITS MEMBER NATIONS WHICH ARE ALSO MEMBERS OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.) (THE ALLIES ALSO RECOGNISE THAT THE MAINTENANCE OF SECURITY AND STABILITY WITHIN THE AREAS COVERED BY THE TREATY CAN BE DIRECTLY AFFECTED BY EVENTS IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD. (IN THIS CONNECTION THEY WELCOME THE CONTRIBUTIONS MADE BY MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE TO THE PRESERVATION OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND WORLD PEACE.))

10 THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE CONSIDER THAT THE WILL TO COMBINE THEIR EFFORTS TO ENSURE THEIR COMMON DEFENCE OBLIGES THEM TO MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE THE EFFICIENCY OF THEIR FORCES AND THAT, EACH SHOULD UNDERTAKE, ACCORDING TO ITS PLACE IN THE ALLIANCE, ITS PROPER SHARE OF BURDEN OF MAINTAINING THE SECURITY OF ALL. CONVERSELY, THEY TAKE THE VIEW THAT, IN THE COURSE OF CURRENT OR FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS, NOTHING MUST BE ACCEPTED WHICH COULD DIMINISH THIS SECURITY.

11. (THE ALLIES ARE CONVINCED THAT THE FULFILMENT OF THEIR COMMON AIM REQUIRES THE MAINTENANCE OF CROSS CONSULTATION, COOPERATION AND MUTUAL TRUST. THESE ARE AS NECESSARY FOR DETENTE AS FOR DEFENCE, WHICH ARE, THEY REPEAT, COMPLEMENTARY. THE ALLIES WISH TO ENSURE THAT THEIR ESSENTIAL SECURITY RELATIONSHIP IS SUPPORTED BY HARMONIOUS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS SO THAT EACH MEMBER OF THE ALLIANCE BENEFITS FROM THE STRENGTH--
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POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY--OF THE OTHERS. TO THIS END, THEY UNDERTAKE TO KEEP EACH OTHER FULLY INFORMED AND TO STRENGTHEN THE PRACTICE OF FRANK AND TIMELY CONSULTATION ON MATTERS RELATING TO THEIR COMMON INTERESTS. IN THE SPIRIT OF THEIR FRIENDSHIP, AND BASED ON THE PURPOSES THEY SHARE, THEY WILL USE ALL APPROPRIATE MEANS OF CONSULTATION, ACCORDING TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF THEIR EVOLVING RELATIONS. THEY WILL IN PARTICULAR WORK TO REMOVE SOURCES OF CONFLICT BETWEEN THEIR ECONOMIC POLICIES, AND TO ENCOURAGE COOPERATION WITH ONE ANOTHER.)

OR

(THE ALLIES ARE CONVINCED THAT THE FULFILMENT OF THEIR COMMON AIMS REQUIRES THE MAINTENANCE OF CLOSE CONSULTATION, COOPERATION AND MUTUAL TRUST. THESE ARE AS NECESSARY FOR DETENTE AS FOR DEFENCE, WHICH ARE, THEY REPEAT, COMPLEMENTARY. THEY UNDERTAKE TO KEEP EACH OTHER FULLY INFORMED AND TO STRENGTHEN THE PRACTICE OF FRANK AND TIMELY CONSULTATIONS ON MATTERS RELATING TO THEIR COMMON INTERESTS, RECOGNIZING THAT THEIR INTERESTS CAN BE DIRECTLY AFFECTED BY EVENTS IN OTHER AREAS OF THE WORLD. THEY WISH ALSO TO ENSURE THAT THEIR ESSENTIAL SECURITY RELATIONSHIP IS SUPPORTED BY HARMONIOUS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS. IN THE SPIRIT OF THEIR FRIENDSHIP, BASED ON THE PURPOSES THEY SHARE, THEY WILL USE ALL MEANS OF CONSULTATION (IN APPROPRIATE BODIES) ACCORDING TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF THEIR RELATIONS. THEY WILL IN PARTICULAR WORK TO REMOVE SOURCES OF CONFLICT BETWEEN THEIR ECONOMIC POLICIES, AND TO ENCOURAGE ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH ONE ANOTHER.)

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OR

THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE ARE CONVINCED, NOW AS BEFORE, THAT THEIR AIMS WILL BE ACHIEVED ONLY BY THE MAINTENANCE OF CLOSE CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION IN MUTUAL TRUST ON ALL THEIR COMMON PROBLEMS. SINCE DETENTE AND DEFENCE ARE COMPLEMENTARY, THEY WILL IN PARTICULAR KEEP EACH OTHER INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS AND PROGRESS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS. FURTHERMORE, WHILE ABIDING BY THEIR INDIVIDUAL OBLIGATIONS, AND ANY COMMITMENTS THEY HAVE JOINTLY UNDERTAKEN, THEY WILL CONTINUE TO REMOVE SOURCES OF CONFLICT BETWEEN THEIR RESPECTIVE ECONOMIC POLICIES, AND TO ENCOURAGE ECONOMIC COLLABORATION WITH ONE ANOTHER.)

OR

(THE ALLIES ARE CONVINCED THAT THE FULFILMENT OF THEIR COMMON AIMS REQUIRES THE MAINTENANCE OF CLOSE CONSULTATION,

COOPERATION AND MUTUAL TRUST. THESE ARE AS NECESSARY FOR DETENTE AS FOR DEFENCE, WHICH ARE, THEY REPEAT, COMPLEMENTARY. THEY WILL IN PARTICULAR WORK TO REMOVE SOURCES OF CONFLICT BETWEEN THEIR ECONOMIC POLICIES, AND TO ENCOURAGE ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH ONE ANOTHER. TO THIS END THEY UNDERTAKE TO KEEP EACH OTHER FULLY INFORMED AND TO STRENGTHEN THE PRACTICE OF FRANK AND TIMELY CONSULTATION ON MATTERS RELATING TO THEIR COMMON INTERESTS.)

12. THEY RECALL THAT THEY HAVE PROCLAIMED THEIR DEDICATION TO THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY, RESPECT FOR
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HUMAN RIGHTS, JUSTICE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS, WHICH ARE THE FRUITS OF THEIR SHARED SPIRITUAL HERITAGE AND THEY DECLARE (THEIR INTENTION TO DEVELOP AND DEPEND ON APPLICATION OF THOSE PRINCIPLES AMONG THEIR PEOPLES) OR (THEIR INTENT TO UPHOLD THESE PRINCIPLES FOR THE BENEFIT OF THEIR PEOPLES) OR (THAT THEIR PEOPLES SHALL HAVE AN INCREASING SHARE IN THEM).. SINCE THESE PRINCIPLES, BY THEIR VERY NATURE, FORBID ANY RECOURSE METHODS INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE PROMOTION OF WORLD PEACE, THEY REAFFIRM THAT THE EFFORTS WHICH THEY MAKE TO PRESERVE THEIR INDEPENDENCE, TO MAINTAIN THEIR SECURITY AND TO IMPROVE THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THEIR PEOPLES EXCLUDE ALL FORMS OF AGGRESSION AGAINST ANYONE, ARE NOT DIRECTED AGAINST ANY OTHER COUNTRY, AND ARE DESIGNED TO BRING ABOUT THE GENERAL IMPROVEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. IN EUROPE, THEIR OBJECTIVE CONTINUES TO BE THE PURSUIT OF UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION WITH EVERY EUROPEAN COUNTRY. IN THE WORLD AT LARGE, EACH ALLIED COUNTRY RECOGNIZES THE DUTY TO HELP THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. PROSPERITY AND POVERTY KNOW NO FRONTIERS, AND IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF ALL THAT ALL COUNTRIES BENEFIT FROM THE FRUITS OF TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN AN OPEN AND EQUITABLE WORLD SYSTEM.

13. THEY RECOGNISE THAT THE COHESION OF THE ALLIANCE HAS FOUND EXPRESSION NOT ONLY IN COOPERATION AMONG THEIR GOVERNMENTS, BUT ALSO IN THE FREE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AMONG THE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLES OF THE ALLIANCE. ACCORDINGLY THEY DECLARE SUPPORT FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF LINKS AMONG PARLIAMENTARIANS.

14. THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE THUS REDEDICATE THEMSELVES TO AIMS AND IDEALS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY DURING THIS YEAR OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF ITS SIGNATURE. THE MEMBER NATIONS LOOK TO THE FUTURE, CONFIDENT THAT THE VITALITY AND CREATIVITY OF THEIR PEOPLES ARE COMMENSURATE WITH THE CHALLENGES WHICH CONFRONT THEM. THEY DECLARE THEIR CONVICTION THAT THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE CONTINUES TO SERVE AS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT IN THE LASTING STRUCTURE OF PEACE THEY ARE DETERMINED TO BUILD. RUMSFELD

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